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SALT I—We were duped, CIA file says

By Bruce Ingersoll

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON—The Soviet Union won virtually all its objectives in the 1972 strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT I) by repeatedly deceiving U.S. negotiators and by exploiting the Nixon administration's "conciliatory attitude" toward the Kremlin, an unclassified version of a top-secret CIA report says.

The Soviets succeeded in duping the United States on the deployment of heavy missiles, the range of their most advanced submarine-launched missile and other crucial issues, former Central Intelligence Agency analyst David S. Sullivan asserts in his report.

Moreover, Sullivan holds Henry A. Kissinger, then-national security adviser to President Richard M. Nixon, primarily responsible for what he regards as the SALT I debacle. (Kissinger's office said he might comment after he has seen Sullivan's allegations.)

Sullivan stops short of criticizing the CIA outright, but his report strongly implies that the United States would not have been so easily misled and deceived were it not for mystifying gaps in the U.S. intelligence.

"The Soviets have used the SALT negotiating process as a smoke screen to conceal their increasing strategic superiority from a complacent United States," he says in the report.

FRIENDS OF SULLIVAN described him as a patriotic hawk who fears the United States may have been victimized again by Soviet plays and deceptions during the six-year SALT II negotiations, which, by most assessments, are close to being concluded.

In his report—scheduled to appear in the winter issue of Strategic Review—Sullivan asks: "Does a great nation learn from its past mistake—from the clear record of its own gullibility and the adversary's deceit—or does it continue headlong on the road toward potential disaster?"

The report's publication will be one more anti-SALT salvo in anticipation of a SALT II agreement. Undoubtedly, it will be raised in Senate debate if a pact is reached and submitted for ratification. Approved For Release, they believe the report may prove to be the "Pentagon Papers" of the SALT negotiations.

Friends said Sullivan spent two years pre-

years resisting efforts inside the CIA to re-write and suppress his book-length report. A CIA spokesman, on the other hand, said that is not so.

"Certainly, he has a right to express a dissenting view," the spokesman said. "But quite obviously, the final product is that of the agency. The ultimate determination is made by the agency on what it views as accurate."

SULLIVAN RESIGNED from the CIA in the summer after admitting he had turned over his classified report to Richard Perle, an aide to Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), a leading SALT critic.

Sullivan, now an aide to Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), since has regained his security clearance and obtained permission to publish a shorter "suntized" version of his report, a copy of which was obtained by The Sun-Times. Relying solely on information on the public record to buttress his arguments and allegations, Sullivan reaches these conclusions:

- "SALT has not led to true or balanced arms control.

- "The Soviets clearly have gained the most from the SALT process.

- "SALT has stimulated the arms race by allowing a Soviet build-up without any real quantitative and qualitative constraints [on weapons].

- "The United States traded away its ABM [antiballistics missile system] for a tripling or quadrupling of the Soviet strategic threat against it, all the while tolerating Soviet negotiating deception and massive operational concealments and ruses in Soviet strategic [weapons] deployment."

For these reasons, Sullivan argues, the Soviets were "jubilant" about the outcome of the May, 1972, summit between Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev in Moscow.

ALTHOUGH HE MAKES Kissinger the main scapegoat, Sullivan maintains that, to some extent, the shortcomings of SALT I from the U.S. standpoint stemmed from errors on the part of Robert S. McNamara, de-

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